THE WONDERFUL WORKS OF GOD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED!

A

SERMON,

DELIVERED

ON THE DAY

OF

ANNUAL THANKSGIVING,

NOVEMBER 20, 1794.

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A SERMON.

"*He hath made his wonderful Works to be remembered.*"— PSALM CXI. 4.

THE works of God are uſually diſtinguiſhed into thoſe of creation, and thoſe of providence. By the former, we underſtand the ſtretching forth and garniſhing of the heavens, the forming and repleniſhing of the earth, and the originating of the preſent order and courſe of nature. By the latter, are meant the continued preſervation, the upholding and governing of all theſe things; and the ſuperintending of all events, both in the natural and moral world. All theſe are great and wonderful works, worthy to be had in conſtant remembrance by every rational ſpectator. They make God to be remembered; nay, they are ſo many memorials of him, witneſſing his eternal power and Godhead, his overflowing benignity, and his care of, and kindneſs towards, his creatures.

They who have any taſte for intellectual and moral pleaſures, who are capable of reliſhing what is grand and ſublime, will delight in prying into, and contemplating theſe great and wonderful works of creation and providence. To this purpoſe it is obſerved in the context, that the works of the Lord being great, honourable, and glorious, they will be *ſought out* or inveſtigated *by all them who have pleaſure therein.* By theſe works the Pſalmiſt has ſpecial reference to the more ſignal diſpenſations of Providence in his dealings with his covenant people, the deſcendants of Abraham his friend. In theſe diſpenſations he ſet before them the moſt ſtriking illuſtrations of his character and glorious perfections. They often ſaw him, on one occaſion and another, triumphing over the falſe gods of the heathen around them, executing judgment upon their vain idols, and confounding their ſtupid worſhippers. They ſaw his infinite power diſplayed in an almoſt continued ſeries of miraculous operations; his juſtice in the exemplary puniſhment of cruel oppreſſors; his mercy in numberleſs affecting inſtances towards themſelves; and his truth and faithfulneſs in the exact fulfilment of his promiſes and predictions. Theſe things were intended to make laſting impreſſions on their minds—ſuch as might not be eaſily or ſpeedily effaced. The wonderful

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works of Providence are wrought for this very purpoſe, that, by beholding them, men may be ſo affected, as to have God continually in their thoughts, and thereby be led to fear and ſerve him.

The text may teach us, that the more ſignal mercies of Heaven towards us, and thoſe more remarkable deliverances which, at any time, have been wrought in our favour, ought to be gratefully remembered, and thankfully acknowledged by us. Theſe things are ſome of the chief beauties and moſt brilliant pages in that book of Providence, which it highly concerns us daily to read and ſtudy. This book indeed contains the whole hiſtory of God's dealings with mankind, from age to age; in which he diſplays his moral perfections to the view of his rational offſpring. The clear light of eternity will ſhow every part of this volume to be full of meaning; and ſuch an explanation will then be given to thoſe paſſages, which are now eſteemed dark and myſterious as will induce enraptured ſaints, with aſtoniſhment, to exclaim, *O the depth of the wiſdom and knowledge of God!* But while we dwell in this land of ſhadows and obſcurity, we ſee only a ſmall proportion of what God does; and having ſuch limited views of his diſpenſations, it is no wonder if we be unable to comprehend the meaning of particular events.

There are many, however, which contain ſuch ſtriking illuſtrations of the divine attributes, eſpecially of the divine mercy and goodneſs, that we can be at no loſs about them. Not a few of theſe have fallen within our own obſervation; and many others our ears have heard, and our fathers have told us. God expects and requires, that we gather them up as a treaſure, and carefully preſerve them in our memories. They are in themſelves memorable; and he hath done them, that they might be remembered by us. Of courſe, he is highly offended when men *forget his works and the wonders which he hath ſhewed them.* Such behaviour reflects upon the Divine Majeſty, as though his method of governing the world, and his dealings with his creatures, were not worthy of our attention. The miſery and deſtruction of men are, in ſome inſtances, attributed to their not *regarding the work of the Lord, nor conſidering the operation of his hands.* And it is certain, that the frequent review of the more ſtriking diſpenſations of Providence is of excellent uſe to confirm us in the belief, and to excite us to the practice, of true religion. Through the weakneſs and darkneſs of their minds, and the ſtrength of their corruptions, mankind are prone to unbelief. Some, under every advantage for light and conviction, do, notwithſtanding,

ſtanding, indulge to ſceptical opinions: And they would generally, perhaps, be in danger of ſuch opinions, and of calling in queſtion the firſt principles and fundamental articles even of natural religion, the being, perfections, and moral government of the Deity; were it not for thoſe leſs common appearances of his Providence, by which they are awakened to conſider the manifold proofs of a Supreme Almighty Ruler working in the midſt of them, and ſitting as Governor and Judge among the nations.

At certain periods of time, through the ſeveral ages and among the different nations of the world, God breaks forth in ſignal and remarkable diſpenſations for the relief of the righteous, or for the puniſhment of the wicked. His providence is ſeen juſtifying its own procedure in vindicating and delivering oppreſſed innocence, or in precipitating proſperous guilt from its lofty ſeat. On theſe occaſions, God is known by the glory that ſurrounds him. Beholding theſe extraordinary proofs of his preſence and power, men are conſtrained to ſay, *Verily there is a reward for the righteous: verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth.*

And when we are once eſtabliſhed in the belief of ſuch a great and glorious Being, this faith will naturally prompt us to fear and ſerve him. Con-

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vinced of his power and juſtice by the awful manifeſtations of them in his works, we ſhall be led to ſtand in awe of him, and heedfully to ſhun whatever we apprehend to be offenſive in his ſight. Struck with the more ſignal diſplays of his mercy and goodneſs, and excited by them to the more fixed contemplation of his unbounded beneficence; we ſhall be ſatisfied, that our happineſs muſt conſiſt in the enjoyment of his favour. This perſuaſion will render us anxious to know *what the Lord our God requires of us;* and ſolicitous to approve ourſelves to him, by a patient continuance in well-doing.

Our preſent truſt in the divine mercy is alſo encouraged by the remembrance of former favours and deliverances. For this purpoſe, among others, the Iſraelites were enjoined to teach "their children the praiſes of the Lord, his ſtrength, and his wonderful works—that the generation to come might know them—even the children which ſhould be born: who ſhould ariſe and declare them to their children; that they might ſet their HOPE in God."

The honour of God, the intereſts of religion, and the comfort and conſolation of good men, being all promoted by the memory of the divine diſpenſations; it is highly agreeable to reaſon, and

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conſonant to ſcripture, that public days ſhould be ſet apart, on which a whole people may unite in celebrating the goodneſs of God; recollecting the inſtances of his providential care of, and kindneſs towards, them; and talking of his wonderful works in their favour. Such inſtitution ſerve as *pillars of remembrance*, to revive and perpetuate a ſenſe of our obligations to Heaven. The thoughts of the great body of the people are ſo taken up about their own private affairs, that they are prone to pay but little attention to the concerns of the public. After the firſt impreſſion is worn off, they ſoon forget, at leaſt practically, national mercies and deliverances, as well as national judgments. They need to have their minds ſtirred up by way of remembrance. And when God, by a long and continued ſeries of remarkable interpoſitions, has multiplied, bleſſed, and proſpered any people—has, on one occaſion and another, repeatedly reſcued them from great and threatning dangers—put them in full poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties, laws and religion; and from year to year continues them in the quiet enjoyment of theſe privileges, together with the uſual bounties of his munificent providence; they cannot too frequently recollect nor too fervently and gratefully acknowledge, theſe ſignal inſtances of the divine benignity.

ity. It ſurely becomes chriſtian magiſtrates, and is a duty they owe to God, to call upon their ſubjects to unite in commemorating theſe wonderful works of Heaven in their favour.

Our forefathers, from the firſt ſettlement of the country, eſteemed certain ſeaſons of the year as highly proper for ſpecial acts of devotion. At the opening of the ſpring, they judged it fit and ſuitable, to ſet apart a day for humiliation and prayer; that they might implore the divine bleſſing on the affairs of the enſuing ſeaſon—that it might be rendered fruitful, healthy and proſperous. And after the reception of theſe mercies, at the cloſe of the ſeaſon, another day was ſet apart for public thankſgiving. To this cuſtom of our *pious and renowned anceſtors* the proclamation for the obſervance of this day expreſsly refers. To the friends of religion among us it muſt be highly agreeable, to join in making this day a grateful memorial of God's providential kindneſs towards us; and eſpecially, in recording the more ſignal mercies of the laſt revolving ſeaſon.

He hath, ſays the proclamation, *been pleaſed to favour us with a good meaſure of health, while others, whom we ought to pity and pray for, have been viſited with contagious and mortal ſickneſs.* In the Weſt-India Iſlands, in ſome of the ſouthern ſtates, and even

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in the neighbouring ſtate of Connecticut, we have heard of an unuſual mortality. But among ourſelves, the inſtances of it have, as yet, fallen conſiderably ſhort of the average number for the laſt twenty years. It is rare, indeed, that a year paſſes over us in which health is more generally enjoyed. Life is the baſis of all our enjoyments in this world; and health is the balm of life. It ſweetens and enhances all the comforts of life. It enables us to bear our part in the affairs of the world, and to partake of that rich profuſion of good which a bountiful Providence ſets before us. When therefore we ſee, or hear of, others from whom this bleſſing is withdrawn, it ought to excite our gratitude afreſh, that to *us* it is ſtill continued. On this day it becomes us, with increaſed love and thankfulneſs, to pay our vows to that Being who is the health of our countenance and the God of our lives; whoſe kind viſitations uphold us in the land of the living, while many others, cut off by pining ſickneſs, are continually ſinking into the grave.

Next to the bleſſing of health, the proclamation mentions thoſe of harveſt: *He hath ſmiled on our agricultural labours, and cauſed the earth to yield her increaſe.* For the ſpace of ſome weeks, at the opening of the ſpring, our proſpect was melancholy. An early drought and a late froſt, unuſually ſevere,

alarmed our apprehenſions. But, from that period, we have rarely known, in this vicinity, a more fruitful ſeaſon. Refreſhing ſhowers ſucceeding each other at ſhort intervals preceded and followed with a warm ſun, have furniſhed a continued ſupply of graſs for the cattle, and rendered the latter harveſt, and the various productions of autumn. plentiful and abundant. In this reſpect alſo we record the rich bounty of Providence, and are conſtrained gratefully to acknowledge, that ſtill "he leaveth not himſelf without witneſs, in that he continueth to do us good, to give us rain from heaven and fruitful ſeaſons, filling our hearts with food and gladneſs."

With the bleſſings already recounted the proclamation goes on to inform us, that *He hath proſpered our fiſhery, and in a great meaſure our merchandiſe, notwithſtanding the depredations of unreaſonable deſpoilers.* The attack of theſe deſpoilers upon our commerce has undoubtedly been infamous, and ſuch as ought to be execrated by all civilized nations. And were we to judge of the extent of the miſchief which they have done us, from the repreſentations in ſome of the public papers, and in the reſolves of certain ſelf-created ſocieties, we might be led to conclude, that the trade of the country was annihilated, and all its merchants bankrupts. It is therefore, after ſuch continued alarms through

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the ſeaſon, ſome conſolation to hear, from ſo high an authority, that, notwithſtanding all our loſſes, diſappointments and vexations, *a great meaſure* of commercial proſperity has been enjoyed. Of this, indeed, we have yet further evidence, even ocular demonſtration, in the ſplendid and princely appearance of many of our mercantile citizens, and in the high price of our country produce, enhanced to a degree, which (though oppreſſive and ruinous to a few individuals whoſe ſole dependence is upon a fixed ſtipend) is yet exceedingly gainful to the great body of the community. Such prodigious exportations would not, and could not be continued, did not the merchant, notwithſtanding every riſk, find his account in them.

What a claim upon our gratitude then is this, that, through the mercy of Heaven, we are allowed to increaſe in wealth, in numbers and ſtrength, at a time, when the nations of Europe are madly waſting, impoveriſhing and deſtroying each other. *There* the awakened jealouſy of tyrants, tenacious of their uſurped powers, and the ferocious zeal, the deſperate fury of a mighty, though long oppreſſed nation, have ſet the world in a flame. Theſe luſts conſume the abundance of the ſeas and the treaſures of the dry land, the productions both of nature and art: They lay waſte the works and im-

provements of ages, and, ſo far as their power extends, render all the elements ſubſervient to miſery and ruin. What a blaſt do the follies and vices of men bring upon the rich bleſſings of Heaven! For our continued exemption from theſe ſcenes of devaſtation and ruin, how fervent ſhould be our gratitude to the ſupreme Diſpoſer: In times paſt we have experienced them; and may Heaven grant, that we may know them no more! As yet we hail each of the contending nations as our friends; and while they are mutually ſuffering ſuch complicated evils from one another, theſe ſtates preſent a common aſylum for the diſtreſſed of all parties, who are almoſt daily arriving on our peaceful ſhores.

The enumeration of bleſſings in the proclamation concludes with adding, *He hath continued to us the ineſtimable bleſſing of the Goſpel, and our religious, as well as civil rights and liberties.* For the former of theſe—the rich bleſſings of the Goſpel and our religious privileges—as they are primarily a ſupernatural grant from Heaven, and compriſe all our hopes and proſpects for eternity; ſo no period, ſhort of that endleſs duration, will be ſufficient for adequate returns of adoration and praiſe.—For the latter, our civil rights and liberties, we are, under Providence, and as the mean by which Heaven has granted and continues them to us, indebted to a

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cauſe or ſource which, I am ſorry to obſerve, is not mentioned, nor even referred to, in the proclamation—I mean the general or federal government. This omiſſion is ſtrange and ſingular, beyond any thing of the kind that I recollect to have ſeen ſince the firſt union of the ſtates in the memorable year 1775. It has, to ſay the leaſt, a ſtrong appearance of diſconnection with the general government, and an air of ſeparate ſovereignty and independence, as though we enjoyed not our civil rights in union with the other ſtates under one common Head.

Here then, I think it my duty, to remind you, that of all our political bleſſings for which we ought, on this day, to make our grateful acknowledgments to the Divine Goodneſs, our federal government is the greateſt, the chief, and, in fact, the baſis of the whole. Its form and conſtitution are by wiſe men univerſally admired. The wiſdom, integrity, ability and ſucceſs of its adminiſtration have commanded the reſpect and applauſe of the world. Its happy effects and conſequences to ourſelves which we have known and experienced, have been great and eſtimable, beyond any other political good which we have ever enjoyed. By guarantying to each of the ſtates a republican form of government, and the enjoyment of every right conſiſtent with the rights of the whole, it becomes to them all their

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greateſt ſecurity againſt the attempts both of internal faction and external invaſion. In this view, it is their main pillar of ſupport and bulwark of defence.

Previous to the adoption of this moſt excellent form of government—under the old confederation, theſe ſtates preſented to the world a many-headed monſter, frightful and alarming to all the lovers of peace and good order. Each ſtate claimed a negative on the reſolves of the whole in Congreſs aſſembled; and the regulations of the ſeveral ſtates reſpectively were continually interfering and claſhing with each other. From this foundation for diſcord, parties and diviſions were inevitable. In almoſt every ſtate, many were diſaffected towards their own immediate government. In ſome of the ſtates, open rebellions exiſted. Things went on from bad to worſe, till the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſuſpended, the laws ſilenced—all public and private faith left without a ſupport, and the obligation of promiſes and contracts ſet aſide. Men could neither confide in the public, nor in one another. Induſtry wanted encouragement—trade languiſhed—a general uneaſineſs prevailed; and we tottered on the brink of the moſt dreadful convulſions.

The federal government was no ſooner organized, than it ſpeedily reſcued us from this eminently haz-

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ardous ſituation. It gave freſh vigor to each of the ſtate governments; awed into ſubmiſſion the factious through all the ſtates; reſtored the courſe of juſtice, and thereby eſtabliſhed peace and good order among the citizens at large. It recovered the ſinking credit of the nation, together with that of the reſpective ſtates; and gave ſuch a ſpring to commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and all thoſe uſeful arts which ſupply the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, that they have flouriſhed to a degree incomparably beyond what had ever been known in this country before. In promoting theſe important ends of every good government, it exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations of its friends and patrons. So ſtriking and manifeſt were its beneficial effects, that even its reſtleſs enemies were compelled to ſilence. This tide of public proſperity continued riſing even after the commencement of the preſent troubles in Europe: The current of our trade flowed for a while with but little interruption, and with accumulated profit to our merchants and farmers.

In this proſperous ſituation of our affairs, a foreign incendiary appeared among us; the object of whoſe miſſion was, at all events, to draw us in for a ſhare in the war of Europe. By fair negociation with the exiſting government, he had no hope of ſucceſs.

ſucceſs. It was therefore neceſſary, that the government ſhould be overthrown; or, at leaſt, that the wiſe and good men entruſted with its adminiſtration, ſhould be driven from the helm. Materials for either or both of theſe purpoſes were ready to his hand.

In every country there are ſome who envy the abilities of their ſuperiors, and covet their ſtations; ſome conſtitutionally turbulent and uneaſy, who can have pleaſure in nothing but ſcenes of tumult and confuſion; ſome who can make themſelves conſpicuous on no other occaſions; and ſome in deſperate circumſtances, whoſe only hope of bettering them is in revolutions of government. Beſides a proportion of all theſe, there has been in this country a large party, from the beginning, ill affected toward the federal government; and with theſe may be reckoned numbers of ignorant though honeſt, people, who think the period arrived when the debt of gratitude ought to be paid to our allies. The paſſions, prejudices and opinions of theſe ſeveral claſſes of people prepared their minds to receive the impreſſions of an inſidious miniſter.

He immediately put in practice the arts which had proved ſo dreadfully efficacious in his own country. His intrigues were ſuddenly and ſurpriſingly extended. His very breath ſeemed to kindle

kindle the ſmothered embers of ſedition from Georgia to Newhampſhire. Preſſes through the ſtates were engaged to forward his deſigns, by conveying torrents of ſlander and abuſe againſt the great officers of government. Popular ſocieties, unknown to the laws, were recommended and actually formed under the influence of demagogues well ſkilled in the buſineſs of faction. The Britiſh councils, as though in league to aid the attempts of GENET, perfidiouſly ſeized upon our trade, and thereby furniſhed (what as yet had been wanting) a plauſible occaſion for clamour to thoſe who were ſeeking it, and a juſt ground of reſentment and indignation to the moſt peaceable and well diſpoſed. The paſſions of men were worked up to a degree of fury. Raſh and violent meaſures were propoſed and ſtrenuouſly urged. Favoured by theſe circumſtances of embarraſſment to the government, the weſtern counties in Pennſylvania embraced the opportunity to riſe in rebellion.

Such, my hearers, have been the trials and dangers to which our peace, liberty, and all our political happineſs, have been expoſed. That the conſequences have not, as yet, been more pernicious, we have abundant reaſon, this day, to thank and praiſe the Supreme Diſpoſer. Our general government, with all our rights and privileges embarked, has been

ſteering between Scylla and Charybdis: That we have not been daſhed upon either, is owing to the good hand of God, influencing and directing the pilots.

The proſpect is now more favourable. Through the wiſe and good conduct of the Preſident, his miniſters, and the men of ſober judgment in Congreſs, we ſeem to have eſcaped many rocks and quick-ſands. With dignity and firmneſs they reſiſted the intrigues and machinations of an unworthy ambaſſador, till, at length, they obtained his removal. With reſpect to the nation from whom we have received unprovoked injuries, while they have been preparing for the dernier reſort, by putting the country into a ſtate of defence; they have ſent forward to them the remonſtrance of reaſon, truth and juſtice, that (if poſſible) they might prevent the dreadful calamity of war. A degree of ſucceſs has already attended the negociation. The offending power now appears half aſhamed of the wrongs which it hath committed againſt us; and is conſtrained to promiſe reſtitution. They have alſo, the preſent year, been ſucceſsful againſt the hoſtile tribes of ſavages: And to ſuppreſs rebellion, have ſent forth an army ſo numerous and powerful as affords the hopeful proſpect of effecting the purpoſe without the effuſion of blood. To the ſeveral democratic ſocieties

eties through the ſtates, who have inceſſantly cenſured, miſrepreſented and calumniated all theſe meaſures of our federal rulers, they have oppoſed a dignified patience and moderation, worthy of their high ſtations and great abilities.

But as thoſe ſocieties, and the ſpirit of faction which they engender, nouriſh and ſpread among the people, are, in my view, the greateſt danger which, at preſent, threatens the peace and liberties of our country, I ſhall cloſe this diſcourſe with a few ſtrictures upon them.

In every country the men of ambition, who covet the chief ſeats in government, exert all their abilities to ingratiate themſelves with the ſource of power. Under a monarchy they are the moſt ſervile courtiers at the levee of the prince. In a republic, the ſame men appear in the character of flaming patriots, profeſs the warmeſt zeal for liberty, and call themſelves the *friends* of the people. In monarchies, their intrigues and factions are endleſs. But as the monarch himſelf is the main object of all their attempts, over whom they endeavour to extend their influence; their factions are uſually limitted to the precincts of the court, and rarely occaſion any general convulſion in the empire. In a republic, the caſe is widely different; thouſands and millions are the object whom they would influence.

Of courſe, the more popular any government is, the more liable it is to be agitated and rent by parties and factions. Our's is not the firſt republic which the world has ſeen. Some centuries before the chriſtian æra, the ſtates of ancient Greece and Rome were ſo many republics. But through the intrigues of ambitious and deſigning men, influencing each one his party, they became ſo many hot beds of faction and diſſention. Their worthieſt and beſt characters, when ſuch chanced to hold the reins of government, were ſoon hunted down; and the vileſt of men took their places, and this in continual rotation. Civil wars frequently occurred; and as either party prevailed, proſcriptions, baniſhments and maſſacres enſued. Preciſely the ſame ſcenes are now exhibited in France. We all rejoiced at the downfall of deſpotiſm in that country: We conſidered it as the dawn of liberty to the world. But how ſoon was the fair morning overcaſt? They had no ſooner adopted a popular government, than all the violence of faction broke out. A conſtitution, which the collected wiſdom of the nation had been two years in framing, was, in a day or an hour, overſet and demoliſhed. From that time to this, their civil government has been nothing but a conteſt of parties, carried on with all the ferocity of barbarians. Previous to the revolution, it was

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ſaid of the French, that ſo refined was their ſenſibility, ſo abhorrent of every appearance of cruelty, that they would not ſuffer tragedy to be acted at their theatres. Is it not aſtoniſhing, how ſo great a change in the morals and manners of a nation could be ſo ſuddenly effected? Faction alone accounts for it. Had the repreſentatives of the nation been left to act their own judgment, uncontrolled by the leaders of faction, they would never have been guilty of thoſe exceſſes and cruelties which chill all humane minds with horror. But how came thoſe factious leaders by ſuch a controling power over the convention? Solely by means of thoſe popular ſocieties in which they preſided, or over which they firſt gained an influence. Theſe gave to faction its whole force.

On the ſame principles with thoſe in France are founded the democratic ſocieties in this country; and ſhould they become numerous here, as they are there, they will infallibly have a ſimilar effect. Their pretence is to watch government—they mean the federal government. But this, like each of the ſtate governments, is choſen by the nation at large; and, of courſe, every man in his individual capacity has an equal right and an equal intereſt in watching its meaſures. What preſumption then is it, and what an uſurpation of the rights of their

brethren,

brethren, for private aſſociations, unauthorized by the laws, to arrogate this charge to themſelves! Admitting the propriety of ſetting a watch upon Congreſs and the Preſident; are not the ſtate legiſlatures fully competent to the buſineſs? Is not their intereſt at ſtake, and their jealouſy always awake, ready to notice any fault or error in the general government? What then is there for theſe private aſſociations to do? Good they *cannot* do; and if they do any thing, it muſt be evil. And that they have done evil already, and are, in fact, the ſupport of a pernicious and inveterate faction againſt the general government, among many other unqueſtionable proofs, the omiſſion of our chief magiſtrate, juſt mentioned, is, to my mind, not an improbable one. For unleſs we ſuppoſe him to have fallen under the baneful influence of thoſe ſocieties, we know not how to account for his having hazarded a proclamation in which we are directed, neither to give thanks for any advantages enjoyed by means of that government, nor even to aſk the bleſſing of Heaven upon it.* As though its

* This muſt appear the more extraordinary when we reflect, that at the time of iſſuing the proclamation, war with the ſavages raged on our frontiers, rebellion in the boſom of the country, and our ſituation, with reſpect to the powers of Europe, had become ſo critical, that we were actually fortifying and forming a numerous army.

its deſtruction were already decreed, it is treated as no longer the ſubject of prayer.

Should ſo melancholy an event as its overthrow ultimately take place, no cauſe at preſent appears ſo probable, as thoſe ill-judged aſſociations. To pull down and deſtroy good governments as well as bad, is their only tendency. In the nature of things they can have no other effect. In ſuch a country as this, therefore, where, through the diſtinguiſhing mercy of Heaven, we have obtained a government ſo admirably adapted to promote the general happineſs, theſe irregular and unwarrantable aſſociations ought to be guarded againſt and ſuppreſſed with a vigilance like that with which we extinguiſh a fire when it is kindling in a great city. Their meetings are ſo many collections of combuſtibles; and ſhould they be generally extended, the whole country will be in a flame. The members of thoſe ſocieties, by virtue of this relation, neceſſarily become the mere tools and dupes of their artful leaders, who have their own ends to ſerve by all their profeſſions of patriotiſm. "The moment a man is attached to a club, his mind is not free: He receives a bias from the opinions of the party: A queſtion indifferent to *him*, is no longer indifferent, when it materially affects a *brother* of the ſociety. He is not left to act for himſelf; he is bound

in honour to take part with the ſociety—his pride and his prejudices, if at war with his opinion, will commonly obtain the victory; and rather than incur the ridicule or cenſure of his aſſociates, he will countenance their meaſures, at all hazards; and thus an *independent freeman* is converted into a mere walking machine, a convenient *engine of party leaders.*" In this way a few ambitious individuals are enabled to extend their influence; and as they riſe in power and conſequence, to infringe upon the liberty of the public.

Each individual member of the ſtate ſhould have an *equal* voice in elections; but the individuals of a club have more than an equal voice, becauſe they have the benefit of another influence; that of extenſive *private attachments*, which come in aid of each man's political opinion. And juſt in proportion as the members of a club have an undue ſhare of influence, in that proportion they abridge the rights of their fellow citizens. Every club therefore, formed for political purpoſes, is an *ariſtocracy* eſtabliſhed over their brethren. It has all the properties of an *ariſtocracy*, and all the effects of tyranny. It is a literal truth, that the *democratic clubs* in the United States, while running mad with the abhorrence of ariſtocratic influence, are attempting to eſtabliſh preciſely the ſame influence under a different

a different name. And if any thing will reſcue this country from the jaws of faction, it muſt be either the good ſenſe of a great majority of Americans, which will diſcourage private political aſſociations, and render them contemptible; or the controlling power of the laws of the country, which, in an early ſtage, ſhall demoliſh all ſuch inſtitutions, and ſecure to each individual, in the great political family, *equal rights* and an *equal ſhare of influence* in his individual capacity.

But let us admit that no fatal conſequences to government, and equal rights, will enſue from theſe inſtitutions, ſtill their effects on ſocial harmony are very pernicious, and already begin to appear. A party ſpirit is hoſtile to all friendly intercourſe; it inflames the paſſions; ſours the mind; it deſtroys good neighbourhood; it warps the judgment in judicial determinations; it baniſhes candour and ſubſtitutes prejudice; it reſtrains the exerciſe of benevolent affections: and in proportion as it chills the warm affections of the ſoul, it undermines the whole ſyſtem of moral virtue. Were the councils of hell united to invent expedients for depriving men of the little portion of good they are deſtined to enjoy on this earth, the only meaſure they need adopt for this purpoſe, would be, to introduce factions into the boſom of the country.

try.—Faction begets disorder, force, rancorous passions, anarchy, tyranny, blood and slaughter. May the God of order and peace preserve us from such dreadful calamities! and to Him shall be the glory for ever.

A M E N.

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